5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

where, he believed—as did most of his contemporaries— there was no indigenous culture worthy of the name. 648

It was not only the practical problems involved that hampered the full application of an assimilationist policy in Africa. French rule in Africa has been just as much a mixture of authoritarianism and liberalism as it has been ever since the Revolution in France. Some of the so-called liberal regimes were effectively reactionary, whilst some of the authoritarian regimes initiated liberal reforms. This curious mixture has been put most succinctly by Robert Delavignette, a colonial administrator of great experience, when he writes in *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa*:

> And the Europe of the Revolution and that of the *ancien régime*, far from fighting each other in Africa, worked together on the same task. The young cavalry officer, De la Tour Saint-Ygest, who perhaps left France because he could not stand the Revolutionary equality there, went off to Upper Senegal-Niger to destroy the feudal power of the Tuareg, the principles and sentiments of which he cherished. On the other hand, the man who wielded the power of the Republic at Dakar, adherent of a French Freemason lodge, and member of the Radical-Socialist party, was to become in Africa a governor fanatically attached to old style hierarchy, using autocratic methods to lead the natives along the path of progress.

The French never really faced the full implications of assimilation and in practice remarkably little was done to bring into effect the official policy that all colonial peoples should become French and have all the rights of French citizens, which implies that there should have been a very substantial coloured representation in the metropolitan institutions. Thus in 1921, twenty years after France had established her rule throughout French West Africa, the vast mass of the population still had the inferior status of *sujet*, that is they were subject to summary administrative justice and the corvée or forced labour and had no political rights. Ivory Coast had only 308 inhabitants with the 648 641

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

privileges of French citizens; Dahomey, 121; Upper Volta, 17; Niger, 9. As late as 1936 out of a total population of fifteen million in French West Africa there were only 2,136 French citizens, with the exception of the citizens of the Four Towns or *Quatre Communes* of Senegal. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff in their book *French West Africa* have suggested that this was because at that time 'the advantages conferred by naturalisation obviously did not compensate in the eyes of the great majority of Africans for acceptance of French law in regard to marriage and inheritance, and for the general shaping of their lives according to the European pattern'. This was only half the truth. Just as important a factor was the sparseness of facilities for education, the keystone to a successful assimilationist policy. As late as 1947 only 1.3 per cent of children of school age in Guinea were actually attending school. In Soudan the figure was higher at 5 per cent, Dahomey 10 per cent and Senegal 12.4 per cent.

In each case Senegal is the exception. Senegal sent a deputy to the French Assembly as early as 1848. Her first indigenous deputy, Blaise Diagne, elected in 1914, became Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on several occasions before his death in 1934. But the other territories of French black Africa did not elect deputies until 1946, though they sent representatives to the Constituent Congress in 1945. In 1848 the privileges of French citizenship were granted to all Senegalese living in the Colony, though they were allowed to retain their private law in matters of land, inheritance, marriage and divorce. It was only in 1946 with the passing of the *loi Lamine Guèye* that the privileges of citizenship were granted to Africans other than those who obtained naturalisation, which involved accepting French private law. In Senegal, the towns of St. Louis and Gorée were created *communes de pleine exercice* or full scale municipal councils in 1872 and seven years later a General Council on the lines of those operating in the French departments was established.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

So far France had made no definition of the position of non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

The most important result of these two laws was to give about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

important still a Conseil-Général equivalent to the Conseils-Généraux of the French department but with much greater financial autonomy was established for the colony. However representation was limited to citizens of the colony and not the great majority of *sujets* of the Protectorate. This spurt of assimilation was completed a year later when privileges of local self-government were granted to St. Louis and Gorée which were created *communes de pleine exercice*. In 1880 the prosperous new port of Rufisque, some fifteen miles from modern Dakar, was also accorded these privileges, and in 1887 Dakar was separated from Gorée and also gained them.

This was as far as assimilation was to go politically in either Senegal or the rest of French West Africa. Not until 1944 was there any extension of political rights in French black Africa. Indeed in Senegal the citizens had to fight to retain their privileges against an administration that came increasingly to regret the privileges it had granted the Senegalese in the first fine flush of colonial expansion in Black Africa. Thus until the outbreak of the Second World War one had the paradoxical situation of the French regretting their assimilationist policy and the Senegalese citizens asking that it be applied more liberally. This is one of the main reasons why the activities of French Africans, particularly in Senegal, were channelled not towards the attainment of independence but the assertion of their fundamental equality with the French. Their energies were for long directed to obtaining from the French those rights which in principle an assimilationist policy offered them.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

643 writing in 1889, protested against this attitude since he felt Faidherbe,
641 that to make monogamy a condition of citizenship would break up families and that monogamy should be achieved by education. But more potent were those forces which disliked the exercise of such rights by a small African minority, albeit linked with Europeans, which could so often obstruct not only the Governor of Senegal but the Governor-General himself, since until 1904 these two were one and the same man. The existence of a vocal General Council and Municipal Councils, let alone a deputy in France, which could all express opinions directly hostile to the authoritarian rule of the Governor, was another important factor behind the moves to deprive the Senegalese of their citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century. There was also
666 however quite genuine concern at the way in which the vote
641 was exercised in Senegal. Pierre Mille, in an article entitled *The Black Vote in Senegal* published in 1901, alleged that the African voters, mainly illiterate, were controlled by the handful of Europeans who bought their votes. He went so far as to describe Senegal as a 'rotten borough'. Indeed he alleged that the expense of the election absorbed a large part of the colony's finances: and further that after competing against each other for the electors' favour, the big companies in Senegal finally decided to combine the operation to save expenses and control Senegal to their
641 mutual advantage. But as to the virtue of the Senegalese
[595] as citizens in other respects Mille was surprisingly warm: 'Having become French citizens and notwithstanding that they were Muslims, they, with a few exceptions, accepted monogamy . . . and they have spread far and wide in Africa the renown and justice of French administration'. But as
648 Mille concluded, this was not sufficient to persuade France to continue the experiment in her other West African colonies. Indeed, confirming what has already been said about empirical tendencies in French colonial rule, by 1900, when France had gained most of her vast African empire, Mille commented that it was 'administered with an

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

interesting suppleness under the most diverse conditions according to the state of civilisation or submission—or lack of submission—of the natives'.

As a reaction against the powers of the Senegalese General Council during the regrouping of the French West African territories the Protectorate, with the exception of Casamance, Thiès, Cayor and Tivaouane and the *cercles* of the Fleuve, was detached from the colony of Senegal so that the General Council could not legitimately interfere in its affairs. However two years later economic and administrative exigencies decreed the reshaping of Senegal and the rest of French Africa into the territorial boundaries that exist today.

The first major attempt to undermine the rights of the Senegalese with the rights of citizens by virtue of being born in one of the four communes, known as *originaires*, came in 1908 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Senegal asked that 1,563 names be struck off the electoral role of Dakar arguing that since the natives concerned were only French subjects they could not vote. Only French citizens could vote, and citizenship could be obtained only by individual naturalisation. This was upheld in the local court but rejected by the *Cour de Cassation* in Paris. However, the Court confirmed that these voters were not French citizens though they maintained that they had the right to vote. This failure to recognise their status as citizens evoked much ill-feeling among the *originaires*. In 1910 the voting rights in the Senegal were in fact extended when it was provided that French citizens living outside the communes but within the colony could vote. But the Minister of Colonies declared that the decree did not apply to 'non-naturalised natives who only enjoy the franchise in the four *communes de pleine exercice* on condition of being born there', and thus once again emphasised the fact that the French Government did not consider the *originaires* as true citizens. Indeed in the following year their position was further aggravated when *originaires* doing their military service in metropolitan units

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 633 [701] of the army in West Africa, and serving on the same basis as European citizens, were suddenly discharged without reason. A commission of the General Council asked that in future all voters, without distinction of colour, be called on to perform their obligatory military service. Thus by 1912 one had the odd spectacle of Africans, far from trying to avoid military service, insisting on their right to perform it on the grounds that only thus could they secure their rights as French citizens.

However French intransigence over the question of the *originaires* was made clear in the Naturalisation Decree of 1912, which stated that only French subjects born in West Africa could acquire French citizenship. The conditions for acquisition of citizenship were: having proved devotion to France or having occupied with merit for at least ten years a position in a French office, public or private; having learned to read or write French; having given evidence of possessing a means of existence and good character. As a result between 1914-22 only ninety-four natives in French West Africa were naturalised. Those who were defined as subject to the jurisdiction of the native, instead of the French, tribunals were all those natives 'who had not had in their country of origin the status of European national'. This was interpreted by the *originaires* as an attempt to remove from them their right to appear before French tribunals and subject them to administrative justice like the sujets of the Protectorate, for whilst they were anxious to retain their right to their *statut personnel* in civil matters such as marriage and inheritance, they wanted to be tried in French courts in criminal cases. This evoked furious criticisms by the *originaires* and Maître Lamine Guèye, himself an *originaire* and later Deputy in the French Assembly, wrote 'Our fears were more than justified by the spectacle of what happened in the interior of the Colony, where administrators, reviving in certain respects feudal practices, imposed on the persons of our compatriots of the protectorate acts which were neither human nor French'.

692 641 633

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Such was the outcry against this decree that a further decree in 1914 confirmed that 'all natives born in the four communes would be subject to French tribunals throughout the colony and in certain other places'. Indeed Lamine Guèye was one of the most ardent critics of France for her failure to accord the full rights of an assimilationist policy to the *originaires*. He protested against the way the Government opposed 'the entrance of all natives of whatever status they may be, into the general administrative services, even into military units stationed in the colony'. It was only by insistence on the right to do military service on equal terms with the French that the *originaires* were finally able to gain confirmation of their rights as citizens. In 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first Senegalese to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. He won his seat partly as a result of the split vote amongst his six European opponents, partly because he appealed to the Senegalese voters by his demands for complete equality between black and white. His particular platform was a pledge to vote for a law for obligatory military service without distinction of race or colour. In a letter to the Minister of Colonies he said the *originaires* did not want the privileges without the obligations of French citizenship. At the time, of course, France was just about to enter into the Great War and badly needed troops from Africa. Thus without much difficulty a law was passed providing for the conscription of the *originaires* as French troops. In return for Diagne's co-operation in recruiting troops for the war effort, the Government passed the Citizenship Law of 1916 which once and for all confirmed the status of the *originaires*. They could retain their *statut personnel* and need not understand French to be considered as citizens. 'The natives of the *communes de pleine exercice* and their descendants are and remain French citizens subject to the military obligations of the Law of 19 October 1915.' The rider about the status of 'descendants' was of particular importance to Lamine Guèye who was born in Soudan of *originaire* parents.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial.

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote:

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal.

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 they were made agents of the Administration and responsi-
[631] ble for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act for-
[466] bidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which
[467] hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of
[666] electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

641 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief
648 period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Senegal had never in fact been free from elements of racism, though such a policy was never officially countenanced until the Vichy regime. Geoffrey Gorer found many instances of discrimination in Dakar, and actually went as far as to say that 'The colour bar is extremely strong in Dakar'. But he concluded 'these French citizens are far happier than their brother French Negro subjects; if they are too badly cheated or abused they have some redress in the law courts'. The colour bar was certainly not official policy then as it became under the Vichy Administration.

The Vichy regime marks the end of an era in West Africa and particularly in Senegal. Until 1940 there had been little or no opposition to French assimilationist policy by the Africans. Indeed they were the first to criticise any deviations from it. Blaise Diagne enjoyed high status in France, and though he was accused by his critics of corruption and of selling himself to the French he remained the popular choice in Senegal until his death.

At the ensuing election Galandou Diouf defeated Blaise Diagne's old opponent, Lamine Guèye, who was instrumental in the formation of the Senegalese branch of the *S.F.I.O.* Hitherto elections had been largely fought on the basis of personal followings, with the exception of the European-dominated *Parti Socialiste Sénégalais* founded in 1929 in which Europeans played a prominent role. Not only was Lamine Guèye the first Senegalese to realise the value of the party machine, but he was also the first to advocate the granting of full political and legal rights to all French Africans. Significantly he did not suggest any form of break with France, rather that France should carry her assimilationist policy to its logical conclusions. In 1939 he increased his political backing considerably when the *P.S.S.* fused with his section of the *S.F.I.O.* and this was to make him a leading member of the party in the metropolis as well as in Senegal.

However the younger generation of Senegalese were

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

C48 The conference decided that the political future of the colonies should lie with France and ruled out all ideas of eventual independence. They did, however, insist that the colonies should be represented at the constituent Assembly that would draw up the constitution for the Fourth Republic at the end of the war. But they did not consider that the wider representation of Africans in metropolitan institutions would be as beneficial to the African colonies as the establishment of a Federal Assembly for France and its empire. These two suggestions were in tune with traditional integrationist and assimilationist thought, but in addition the delegates made certain proposals that implied considerable administrative and political decentralisation. They asked that assemblies should be set up for each territory, but on the understanding that they should work in close relation to the proposed Federal Assembly and that if possible the franchise should be as wide as practicable for Africans. They also laid down the principle of the dual college, so that Europeans could have effective representation. The administrators of the 'Republic one and Indivisible' were thereby advocating a considerable degree of administrative decentralisation, which in retrospect can be seen as vital to the subsequent achievement of independence by the various states of French black Africa. It was probably fortunate that the conference was one of administrators and not of politicians for their cogent arguments against the inefficiency of the pre-war, highly centralised empire were accepted eventually as directed towards the achievement of a more efficient working of the empire rather than as an attempt to break it up as they certainly might have been had such criticisms come from African politicians. On the other hand the conference made it explicit that decentralisation did not imply independence. All possibility of autonomy outside the French bloc was excluded.

C41 The conference was highly assimilationist in its recommendations for individuals particularly as regards political
C48
871 [i.e., Brazzaville Conference, 1944--Analyst]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

and juridical rights. The old signs of inequality, the *indigénat* and the hated corvée were to be withdrawn, the latter after a period of five years. Education was to remain exclusively French, though Eboué put in a plea for the recognition of the values of traditional society. The problems of granting French citizenship to Africans without prejudicing their *statut personnel* was to be solved within the framework of the proposed Federal Parliament for France and her overseas territories. Africans would thus have citizenship of this larger Federation rather than of France itself and would not therefore have to give up their *statut personnel*. The new principle was first applied in March 1944. French citizenship was extended to a number of Muslims in Algeria who were allowed to retain their *statut personnel*, on the same terms as the *originaires* of Senegal had been. Finally the conference proposed a large scale development programme for the overseas territories.

In the Constituent Assembly which was to deliberate on the constitution of the Fourth Republic, sixty-four seats were given to overseas deputies, a fair number going to Africans. Two socialists from Senegal, Lamine Guèye and his lieutenant Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first African to become a *professeur agrégé* of the Sorbonne, played a leading role in the debates of the new constitution, attacking remnants of Vichy racialism amongst colonial officials, decrying the ban on freedom of meeting and association, and above all denouncing the corvée and *indigénat*. The first Constituent Assembly of 1945, liberal in outlook, was deeply concerned as to how the Republic could remain one and indivisible and yet accord any degree of autonomy to the overseas territories. This was settled by proposing that the overseas territorial assemblies be thought of as equivalent to the *conseils* of the metropolitan department just as that of Senegal had been. The colonies, instead of forming a federation with France as proposed at the Brazzaville Conference, were to participate in a French Union much more integrationist in character and within

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the assimilationist tradition. Once again, however, the implication of granting full citizenship to all colonials was not faced, for the *loi Lamine Guèye* which extended citizenship to all French *sujets* without prejudice to their *statut personnel* did not in fact extend the right to vote to all of them. However it achieved much in abolishing the humiliating status of *sujet*. The *indigénat*, forced labour and the law against freedom of meeting and association were abolished. And a large scale development plan for overseas territories was projected. But although those Africans eligible to vote supported the new constitution, it was defeated in metropolitan France and the new Constituent Assembly proved to be much more conservative. A powerful group known as the States-General of Colonisation was formed in France with the object of reducing the effect of the concessions already granted to the overseas territories. It attacked the proposed French Union since its members believed that under it France would become a colony of its own colonies.

The second Constituent Assembly elected after the defeat of the first constitution was much less liberal in its attitude towards colonial affairs and as a result the new constitution it drew up was far from that envisaged by the Brazzaville Conference. The structure of the French Union was integrationist. It was composed of the French Republic, which included on the one hand metropolitan France, the Overseas Departments and Territories, among them all the territories of French and Equatorial Africa and the associated states and territories, such as the mandated territories of Togo and Cameroons and the Protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia on the other. The President of the French Republic would automatically become President of the French Union. The Assembly of the Union was to draw half its members from metropolitan France and half from the overseas territories. As to the composition of the High Council the concept of the wider French Republic was adopted for the choice of members who would share office with representatives of the associated states. Its

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

powers were limited to consultation on matters affecting the overseas territories. 648

The integrationist character of the new constitution was clear from its preamble: 641 648

> France, together with the peoples of its overseas territories, forms a union based on the equality of rights and duties without distinction of race or religion. Faithful to its traditional mission France intends to lead the people she has taken into her charge towards freedom to administer themselves and to regulate their own affairs democratically, ruling out all methods of colonisation founded on arbitrary acts; she guarantees to all equal access to the public service as well as the individual and collective exercise of rights and liberties confirmed heretofore.

Under the new constitution French citizenship was extended on 7 May 1946 to all French colonial subjects; but in practice the franchise was limited to those whose political education was considered sufficient (e.g. ex-servicemen, civil servants, and the literate or wealthy, etc.), so that of all France's vast overseas population only 1½ million were given the vote. But a number of liberal features were retained. General Councils were established for each territory, though with dual colleges for all but Senegal so that European representation could be secured. Separate rolls were used for election to the Senate and the Assembly of the French Union though a single roll was used for the National Assembly. A Grand Council was established for the eight territories of French West Africa, with members elected by the individual General Councils whose powers were purely advisory and thus no greater than those of the old Senegalese General Council. The constitutional position of Senegal itself was consequently little changed, except that there was no longer a major distinction between *sujet* and citizen. It still remained an integral part of the French Republic. The French Parliament, to which it sent two deputies, still had the final say on all questions of public liberty, and political and administrative organisation. The new General Council replaced the old Colonial [646] [646]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Council in Senegal but differed little in competence. The only concession made to Senegal and not to the other territories, and this undoubtedly being influenced by its political history, was the retention of a single college electorate as against the dual colleges prescribed for all other territories. The French penal code was made generally applicable for Senegal. In January 1946 the three *communes de pleine exercice* (Gorée had by then been incorporated in Dakar) were given full municipal status as equivalent French towns. Finally and most important, forced labour was legally abolished; but it survived in covert forms for several years to come. In Senegal, Senghor received the full credit for this measure from his peasant electorate and has been drawing political dividends from it ever since.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

V. AFRICAN REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

I admit that as Negro students in the years 1930–4 we were only an obstruction. I admit that we were racialist; we were intoxicated by the banner of Negritude. At that time no intercourse was possible with Europeans. But since then, because this racialism betrayed our African-Negro humanism, because it led to deadlock by imposing cold war between races and continents, between man and man, we decided upon reflection to make an extra effort. Today we have accomplished this—the results of European decolonisation have contributed to it—we have left behind us the period of denial to embark with you upon the period of construction.

LÉOPOLD SÉDAR SENGHOR

THE 1946 constitution as far as Senegal and the other more advanced territories of French Africa were concerned really fell between two stools. In so far as it was assimilationist, it was not sufficiently so. If France were ever to establish her Franco-African republic it had to be on the basis of the equality implicit in assimilation. And this equality was denied at many turns. In so far as it permitted decentralisation in the form of territorial and federal assemblies, it was to encourage the growth of nationalist and regional politics. In Senegal, where the changes made were of relatively little importance, the failure to put into practice a fully assimilationist policy was to be one of the predominant influences behind the reaction against assimilation that was the distinguishing feature of the next decade of Senegalese politics.

Overseas leaders had been particularly disillusioned with French honesty in the application of the Overseas Labour Code. This code was drawn up at the Brazzaville Conference and promised amongst other things equal pay for equal work,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

a forty hour week, a minimum wage, the development of trade unions and the institution of a labour inspectorate. However the second Constituent Assembly procrastinated in according these economic rights to its overseas citizens and was dissolved before it could bring them into force. It was only in 1952 that the overseas deputies were able to force this measure through.

One of the reasons for the break-up of the old *S.F.I.O.* in 1948, which may be taken as symbolic of the reaction against assimilation, was the attitude of the parent party in France to social legislation for the overseas territories. The *S.F.I.O.* had voted against equal pensions for African and metropolitan French veterans; it had voted against the introduction of the French social security system for the overseas departments, and it had abstained on a motion to abolish the dual college system. But more important was the desire of the newly enfranchised 'bush' peasants for greater participation in the direction of party policy. Hitherto the party, closely linked with the parent body in France, had been tightly ruled by Lamine Guèye from Dakar. At the 1947 Congress of the party a group of members led by Senghor demanded a greater voice in party councils. The people of the bush, so long denied the rights accorded to the privileged of the *Quatre Communes*, once enfranchised showed their resentment against both those who exercised these rights and those who granted them. In the following year Senghor, backed not only by the intellectuals but by the vast majority of the bush, founded the *Bloc Democratique Sénégalais* (*B.D.S.*) declaring that 'Assimilation is an illusion in a world whose people have become aware of their own personality'. He attacked the *S.F.I.O.* for its close ties with France and its failure to take an independent line on African matters. So just as Lamine Guèye has been described as the representative of the era of assimilation, so Senghor can be dubbed the representative of reaction to this policy.

This reaction was at first not part of a concerted

5; Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that involved the breaking-away of a number of small sections in various territories, emerged as West Africa's leading party with nine seats, and joined the Guy Mollet Government. Under this Government the famous *loi cadre* was passed establishing for each of the black African territories a wholly elected assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. An executive, that could be drawn from within or without the assembly, was established. Although the territorial Governor presided over it, it was effectively guided by the Vice-President or Prime Minister. Separate rolls for Europeans were abolished. Thus in one fell swoop all African territories were given the elements of responsible democratic government. Certainly their powers were restricted since a large number of subjects were reserved to the Federation, still run by the French High Commissioner, and checked only by the *Grand Conseil*. The *loi cadre*, whilst it did not envisage independence, and still saw the future of the African territories as within the structure of the French body politic, did in effect set these territories on the road to independence. Senghor, an ardent critic of the *loi cadre*, declared: 'The peoples of Africa do not intend to cut themselves off from metropolitan France; they want to be able to construct, side by side with her, their own buildings which will consolidate and extend French territory.'

The *loi cadre*, whilst it made large concessions to African demands for autonomy, was in fact designed to avoid demands for independence. The new French Government had been influenced to this end by France's unfortunate experiences in other parts of her empire as well as the political progress of the Gold Coast. Furthermore she wished to anticipate moves by the Gold Coast to absorb that part of the former German Togo which she administered and therefore accorded it a limited form of internal autonomy. It was inevitable that having granted this concession to Togo she would eventually have to make it to neighbouring French African territories as well. Whilst considerable

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

C48 the main drawback for Mali being the concessions she had to make over the military base at St. Louis. Far from cutting [651] Mali off without a penny as she had Guinea, France promised to continue her aid. Mali's decision to take independence marked the beginning of the end of the Franco-African Community, and indeed of France's political assimilation of her African states.

This done, the Mali Federation was all set for independence. But there were internal hurdles to overcome. Mali may well have been ruled by a unified party, but there were definite differences between Soudanese and Senegalese. Soudan was the larger, more populous territory, but the poorer. It was much more left wing and politically was run very much more strictly than Senegal. The party [665] controlled everything. To appreciate this one must remember that the *R.D.A.* was initially allied to the Communists and had adopted their cell technique for its own party organisation. This system of administration proved most effective and explains why Sékou Touré was able to keep so firm a hold on Guinea after the French had gone. Senegal, however, after three centuries of contact with the [641] French, was much more affected by French ideas of liberty and certainly found this rather ruthless element in its Soudanese partner disturbing. For instance at the constitutional conference preceding independence the Soudanese demanded that a unitary state be created, and that the excess burden of two territorial governments be removed. They also wanted a president with strong powers like those enjoyed by de Gaulle. The Senegalese, who saw many dangers to themselves in such a constitution, protested successfully on the moral grounds that it would prevent other states from joining Mali—which was after all the federation's main *raison d'être*. The Senegalese won the day after bitter wrangling. Of course, though Senegal as the richer partner effectively subsidised the federation, she had [439] her own interests in maintaining it since Soudan exported its ground-nuts along the railway from Bamako to Dakar.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.'

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote:

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system.

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority.

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

West Africa, or they'll never leave. The Frenchman has taken everything away from the African. Even prostitution,' he sneered, 'is in their hands.'

Arnold asked him what he thought about Ghana. 'Ghana,' he said fiercely, as though to him it was a deeply significant symbol, 'will stand on its own feet, despite the ill-will of the whole world.' Arnold said: 'But I heard some of your African politicians don't want independence on the Ghana pattern. I've even been told that one said that Ghana got its independence too early.'

'Huh!' he interjected. 'They are jealous because Ghana has got what we will never get, unless they take up arms and drive the Frenchmen away like they did in Dien Bien Phu and are now doing in Algeria.'

Quite why the young man was so vicious against the French I did not discover. His conversation with Arnold certainly gave a false impression of the political situation in French West Africa. He seemed almost as unaware of the political revolution that had taken place here in the Senegal, and throughout French Black Africa only six months earlier, as most British Africans are. For on 31st March, in the same month as Ghana got its independence, French West Africans, every adult, went to the polls to elect their own Territorial Assemblies, from which their own Prime Ministers and Governments would be chosen. And although the new law provided only for a limited degree of internal autonomy for each territory—control of the Civil Service and the police, for instance, were reserved for the Governor—it was an irrevocable step that placed the future of French West Africa in African hands. If the young man had doubts about this, he had only to look at the African Minister from the Senegal talking calmly and confidently to the Acting High Commissioner, Monsieur Torre, to reassure himself.

This young African was not alone in his views. I heard it from other students, though never from a politician in power. The French, of course, because of their record in Indo-China and North Africa, often hear such attacks from the Americans who write about French Black Africa. They arrive there, their opinions already formed by a study of French Colonial policy elsewhere, and condemn everything going on in Dakar and the eight

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833 all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the Coast, there was little to worry about the future.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
175 Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
[162] port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[439] a period of prosperity at the turn of the century.[15] During the late 19th century the composition of the population already was beginning to change fairly rapidly, especially in the expanding centers, but the old core of urban population continued to hold a dominant place, not only in urban life but also in the colony of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution had come into effect. The people of St. Louis most notably served as essential instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very clearly in the political realm. The coastal cities, in contrast to the interior cities and rural areas, had been introduced to the structure and organization through which modern political life is conducted long before the reforms of 1946. Political activity of the modern type was first limited to the European settlers but was
[563] soon extended to the mixed-blood element and then to the Negro population. Beginning in the late 18th century, St. Louis had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who served as intermediary between the governor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan political activities, sending to the States-General a petition of grievances that demanded commercial freedom — *i.e.*, abolition of the Company monopoly — and the end of slavery. A satisfactory agreement was reached among employees of the Company, European businessmen, and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was never brought to fruition; a period of disorder set in and persisted until the rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was conferred upon all free inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizenship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P. 7 B]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [640] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P-8A]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."

[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.

[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.

[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.

[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[P.8C]

[266 [946 [942 [941 [945 [933 [938 369

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[21] A very significant portion of the present framework emerged from the "four communes."
[22] Until 1957, universal suffrage existed only in the four communes. In the rest of Senegal the franchise, which was very limited in 1946, was extended to more and more people. The organic law of 1956 abolished all restrictions.
[23] Translator's note: French section of the Workingmen's International: the French Socialist Party, attached to the old Second International.
[24] In 1956. The municipal elections of the same year showed clearly the extent of its influence, which was unimportant in the interior cities.

[P.9C]

668
M55
Cat.
no.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it:

> 'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished.

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same [633] status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out [162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise [645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of [633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893 [643] the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still [652] kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

633 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its
645 decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing
[648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial
633 Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees
[652] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expresly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its
666 membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and sub-
[642] jects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recom-
[648] mendation of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in
[641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can
643 be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own